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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 863

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 3657

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM YO
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS: COUNTRY ACTION PLANS

REF: STATE 125250

1. FOLLOWING ARE OUR COMMENTS/ON AND ADDITIONS TO THE DRAFT COUNTRY ACTION PLAN FOR YUGOSLAVIA PROVIDED REFTEL.

2. WHILE WE AGREE WITH BASIC APPROACH OF ACTION PLAN, WE FOUND TONE OF PART A. CONDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN YUGOSLAVIA SOMEWHAT LESS OBJECTIVE AND CANDID THAN THE DEPARTMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON YUGOSLAVIA ISSUED PUBLICLY EARLIER THIS YEAR. SPECIFICALLY:
--WE WONDER WHETHER IT ISN'T MISLEADING TO USE PHRASE "FREE IN SPEECH" TO APPLY TO YUGOSLAVS EVEN WHEN QUALIFIED WITH WORK "RELATIVELY". THERE IS A PERVASIVE ATMOSPHERE OF APPREHENSION, EVEN FEAR ABOUT DISCUSSING POLITICAL SUBJECTS NOT ONLY WITH FOREIGNERS BUT AMONG YUGOSLAVS THEMSELVES. RECENT VISITORS FROM POLAND SAY THERE IS NOW GREATER FREEDOM OF SPEECH THERE THAN HERE.
--BELIEVE EXPLANATION GIVEN FOR INCREASE INCONTROLS SINCE 1971 NOT WHOLLY ADEQUATE. TURNING POINT CAUSED MORE BY TITO'S CONCERN WITH GROWING AUTONOMY AND POLICIES OF NATIONALIST AND/OR LIBERAL
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ELEMENTS WITHIN PARTY IN CROATIA, SERBIA AND OTHER REPUBLICS THAN WITH POST-TITO SUCCESSION, EMIGRES OR COMINFORMISTS PROBLEMS. BELIEVE KEY SENTENCES SHOULD READ "MORE STRINGENT POLITICAL CONTROLS HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED SINCE 1971 AS THE REGIME STRIVES TO KEEP ULTIMATE POWER IN THE HANDS OF A FEW, AND IN RESPONSE TO CHALLENGES WITHIN AND OUTSIDE

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THE PARTY FROM NATIONALIST, LIBERAL AND PRO-SOVIET
FORCES. REPRESSIVE MEASURES ALSO STIMULATED AS
REGIME ENTERS THE TITO SUCCESSION ERA BY PERCEIVED
EXTERNAL THREATS FROM BOTH EAST AND WEST. CONSE-
QUENTLY THE REGIME WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY UNAUTHORIZED
POLITICAL ACTIVITY, CONSIDERS EVEN ORAL AND WRITTEN
CRITICISM A POLITICAL "CRIME" AND DETERMINES THE
COURSE OF JUSTINE IN POLITICAL CASES.
--ON CRUEL AND INHUMAN PUNISHMENT, WE AGREE IN
GENERAL WITH LANGUAGE BUT BELIEVE WORTH ADDING
THAT POLITICAL PRISONERS REPORTEDLY HELD IN SOLITARY FOR
SIGNIFICANT PERIODS, WHICH AS ALEXANDER DOLGUN
AND OTHERS REPORT IS ONE OF CRUELEST FORMS OF PUNISHMENT.
--IN SECTION 2A WE WOULD ADD WORD "PLURALIST"
TO "SEPARATIST" VIEWS IN CASE OF JUDGE AS NEWS-
PAPER ACCOUNTS SPECIFICALLY CHARGE HIM WITH
ADVOCATING MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM.
--IN SECTION ON RIGHTS OF RELIGION WE WOULD ADD
A FINAL SENTENCE "A SERBIAN ORTHODOX CLERIC
RECENTLY COMPARED THE CHURCH'S LIFE UNDER THE
COMMUNISTS WITH ITS 500 YEARS UNDER THE TURKS."
--IN SECTION 2B WE WOULD CHANGE SECOND SENTENCE
TO READ "YUGOSLAVS TRAVEL ABROAD AT WILL, ALTHOUGH
AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF "DISSIDENTS" HAVE BEEN DENIED
PASSPORTS ON THE PRETEXT OF NATIONAL SECURITY
GROUNDS AND THE THREAT OF DENIAL INHIBITS MANY
OTHERS."
--IN SECTION 3 WE WOULD ADD NEW SENTENCE TO END
OF SECOND BULLET: "INCOME DIFFERENTIALS ARE
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COMPARABLE TO THOSE IN THE DEVELOPED DEMOCRACIES--
NO WORSE BUT ALSO NO BETTER DESPITE ALL THE MARXIST
RHETORIC".
--IN SECTION 4 WE WOULD ADD A SENTENCE BETWEEN
CURRENT THIRD AND FOURTH SENTENCES: "AT THE SAME
TIME WE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF SELF-SERVING
ASPECT TO THEIR PROCLAIMED CONCERSS --WITH OR
WITHOUT INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES AS GOOD
MARXIST-LENINISTS STILL NOT HAVING RENOUNCED THE
DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND DEMOCRATIC
CENTRALISM THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP WOULD SEEK TO
MAINTAIN A MONOPOLY OF POWER AND PURSUE THAT GOAL
WITH REPRESSIVE MEANS". WE NOT AWARE WHAT
EVIDENCE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL HAS FOR VIS ABOUT
INCREASE IN APPREHENSION OF GROUPS AND YOUR
CONCLUSION ABOUT A RISE IN ORGANIZED CONSPIRACIES.
OUR IMPRESSION-RPT IMPRESSION--IS THAT OVERALL
POLITICAL ARRESTS DOWN FROM 1974 AND THAT POLITICAL
SITUATION MORE "STABLE" FROM REGIME'S POINT OF VIEW.

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--IN SECTION 6 FIRST SENTENCE WE WOULD CHANGE
TERM "YUGOSLAV-AMERICANS" TO "AMERICAN CITIZENS OF
YUGOSLAV ORIGIN". AND WE WOULD ADD WORD
"INDUSTRIAL" IN FRONT OF "ISPIONAGE" IN PENULTIMATE
SENTENCE.

3. RE SECTION ON ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS, THIS
EMBASSY WAS FOR SEVERAL YEARS A RATHER LONELY VOICE
ARGUING IN FAVOR OF A SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND GENERAL
IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WE REMAIN
VIGOROUS, EVEN PASSIONATE SUPPORTERS OF THIS APPROACH.
AT THE SAME TIME WE BELIEVE GREAT SUBTLETY AND
CREATIVITY ARE REQUIRED IF WE ARE TO AVOID

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 3657

LIMDIS

DISILLUSIONMENT, BRINGING THIS STRATEGY TO AN EARLY
END DUE TO OVERLY ENTHUSIASTIC AND IMPATIENT TACTICS.
WE MUST DEVELOP THE KIND OF LONG-TERM VIEW THAT ALLOWS
MARXISTS TO PERSIST IN GRADUAL BUT EFFECTIVE EFFORTS
OVER DECADES TO ACHIEVE BASIC CHANGE. SPECIFICALLY,
JUST AS WE BELIEVE THAT EVEN UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUM-
STANCES IT WILL TAKE RUSSIA 50-100 YEARS TO ACHIEVE
TMV DEGREE OF INTELLECTURAL TOLERANCE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT,
SO WE BELIEVE IT WILL PROBABLY TAKE YUGOSLAVIA AT LEAST
25 YEARS TO REACH THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL MATURITY AND
CONFIDENCE REQUIRED FOR THE DEGREE OF PLURALISM AND
FREEDOM RECENTLY ACHIEVED BY SUCH OTHER SOUTTDRN
EUROPEAN NATIONS AS GREECE, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL (SHORT
OF A RETURN TO POWER POST-TITO OF PRE-71 TYPE LIBERAL
ELEMENTS IN THE PARTY WHICH COULD LEAD TO A SOMEWHAT
FASTER, THOUGH HIGHLY RISK-FILLED MOVEMENT TOWARD
PLURALISM). A LONGER TIME HORIZON THAN SIX MONTHS ALSO

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HAS ADVANTAGE THAT WE CAN SET SOME TRULY FUNDAMENTAL
GOALS. BUT EVEN A 25 YEAR TIMEFRAME REQUIRES THAT
CONCERTED EFFORT FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE YUGOSLAVIA
BEGIN NOW, AND THE US GOVERNMENT AND EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY
THE AMERICAN MEDIA, INTELLECTURAL COMMUNITY, BUSINESSMEN
AND OTHERS HAVE A SIGNIFICANT ROLE TO PLAY.

4. MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE
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ACHIEVABLE IN SIX MONTHS (E.G., AMNESTY), BUT ONE WE
CAN BEGIN TO TAKE STEPS TOWARD RIGHT AWAY IS THE GRADUAL
BRINGING OF YUGOSLAV SOCIALISM INTO THE WESTERN EUROPEAN
SOCIALIST, PLURALIST, HUMAN RIGHTS FOLD. FOR JUST AS WE
AGREE WITH REFTEL THAT THERE WILL NOT BE FUNDAMENTAL
HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENT HERE UNTIL AFTER TITO, WE ALSO
FEEL THAT EVEN AFTER TITO THERE WILL BE LITTLE CHANGE
UNTILHBUGOSLAV LENINISM GIVES WAY MUCH MORE TO YUGOSLAV DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALISM (TO WHICH THEY ALREADY PAY LIP SERVICE).
THERE ARE A NUMBER OF ACTIONS WE CAN TAKE IN THIS
DIRECTION IN THE NEXT SIX MONTHS.
--WE CAN DEVELOP A RHETORICAL POLICY ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA
AND ITS FUTURE. WE SHOULD STOP REFERRING TO SELF-
MANAGED, NON-ALIGNED YUGOSLAVIA AS PART OF COMMUNIST EASTERN
EUROPE IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS (AS WE HAVE BEEN DOING
FOR YEARSQ INCLUDING IN RECENT PRONOUNCEMENTS ON
CSCE)HTND BEGIN TO DISCUSS IT IN THE CONTEXT OF WESTERN SOCIAL
DEMOCRACY AND/OR THIRD WORLD. THIS WILL HAVE TWO BENEIFTS:
WE WILL NOT ALWAYS FORGIVE YUGOSLAVIA ITS HUMAN RIGHTS
SINS BECAUSE IT IS BETTER THAN THE WARSAW PACT; BUT
WE WILL CONSIDER IT A MEMBER, ALBEIT IN HUMAN RIGHTS
TERMS UNDER-DEVELOPED OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILY. AND
WHEN WE WANT TO BE UNPLEASANT, WE SHOULD LUMP THEM
WITH THIRD WORLD DICTATORSHIPS OF RIGHT AND LEFT, OR
EVEN MORE TELLING SAY THAT NOW WITH SALAZAR AND
FRANCO GONE AND GREECE DEMOCRATIC, YUGOSLAVIA IS THE ONLY
SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COUNTRY WITHOUT FREEDOM OF PRESS,
SPEECH AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. A FUNDAMENTAL
GOAL OF OUR RHETORIC SHOULD BE TO CHANGE THE TERMS
OF THE POLITICAL DEBATE, TO STRESS THE DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY WHILE BLURRING
THOSE BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM. SPECIFICALLY,
WE SUGGEST LANGUAGE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES (AS
ALREADY CONTAINED IN OUR ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT):
"WE DO NOT CARE WHAT DEGREE OF GOVERNMENT
INVOLVEMENT THERE IS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF ANY
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OTHER NATION'S ECONOMY. SOCIALISM VS. CAPITALISM
IS NOT THE ISSUE -- DICTATORSHIP VS. EPMOCRACY
IS. WE ADMIRE THE HUMANISTIC AND DEMOCRATIC
IDEALS OF THE YUGOSLAV THEORY OF SELF-MANAGEMENT
-- WE WILL WATCH WITH KEEN INTEREST IN THE YEARS
AHEAD WHETHER IN PRACTICE IT MOVES FURTHER TOWARDS
INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS, TOWARDS EUROPE'S
POLITICAL MAINSTREAM, STAGNATES OR RETURNS TO
STALINIST ISOLATION."

--BEYOND OUR RHETORIC, THERE IS MUCH THAT WE CAN
ACTUALLY DO TO BRING YUGOSLAVIA FURTHER OUT OF ITS
LENINIST SHELL. FIRST THE WEST GERMAN SDB, THE BRITISH
LABOR AND CONSERVATIVE PARTIES, NOT TO MENTION THE CPI
AND OTHER EURO-COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE ESTABLISHED
REGULAR DIALOGUE AT ALL LEVELS WITH THE LCY AND THE
SOCIALIST ALLIANCE AND HAVE GROWING INFLUENCE. FOR EXAMPLE,
PALME AND BRANDT HAVE DEVELOPED CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH
SUCH LCY FIGURES AS KARDELJ AND DOLANC AND BEEN AT THE
TOP OF PUBLIC OPINION POLLS HERE. WHILE WE SHOULD
ENCOURAGE OUR WESTERN EUROPEAN FRIENDS TO INTENSIFY
THIS DIALOGUE, WE SHOULD JOIN IT AS WELL. VICE
PRESIDENT MONDALE'S VISIT WAS AN EXCELLENT BEGINNING
AND KARDELJ'S VISIT THIS SEPTEMBER THE NEXT STEP.
AS CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAS JUST DONE, WE SHOULD BE
WILLING TO ENGAGE IN A DISCUSSION WITH KARDELJ ABOUT
VALUES AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND HOW BOTH OUR SOCIETIES
MUST BE REFORMED TO FULLY ACHIEVE THEM. A JOINT
STATEMENT TO THE PRESS AT THE END OF KARDELJ'S VISIT
THAT WE ARE BOTH COMMITTED TO GREATER HUMAN LIBERTY
WOULD BE A WORTHWHILE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE. FURTHER
WE MUST PURSUE GETTING OFFICIALS FROM THE LCY, THE
SOCIALIST ALLIANCE AND THE NATIONAL YOUTH ORGANIZATION
TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES. AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI
SAYS THE ONLY BARRIER NOW IS FINDING COUNTER-PART
ORGANIZATIONS IN THE U.S. TO INVITE THEM. IF
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MARGARET THATCHER CAN ACCEPT THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE'S
INVITATION TO COME TO YUGOSLAVIA, IS IT IMPOSSIBLE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 3657

LIMDIS

DUE TO U.S. DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS FOR OUR
DEMOCRATIC PARTY, YOUNG DEMOCRATS ET AL TO INVITE
SOME YUGOSLAV POLITICAL FIGURES? OUR HUMAN RIGHTS
POLICY CANNOT BE ALL TAKE AND NO GIVE, ASKING OTHERS
TO MAKE ALL THE CHANGES WHILE WE MAKE NONE OURSELVES.
AMERICAN ISOLATION FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF EUROPEAN
POLITICAL DEBATE IS IN SOME MEASURE DUE TO OUR OWN
HANG-UP ABOUT "SOCIALISM"-- WHATEVER THAT TERM
MEANS AT A TIME WHEN NEARLY ALL COUNTRIES HAVE
MIXED ECONSOMIES.

5. SUGGEST FOREGOING BE PLACED EITHER AT BEGINNING OR
END OF PRESENT DRAFT SECTION OON ANALYSIS AND RECOMMEND-
DATIONS. WITHOUT IT, BELEIVE WE WILL BE MISSING FOREST FOR
THE TREES, AN EXCLUSIVELY SHORT-TERM FOCUS OBSCURING MORE
FUNDEMENTAL ACTIONS WE CAN TAKE. OUR COMMENTS ON PRESENT
LANGUAGE OF SECTION FOLLOW:

--AMEND LAST PHRASE FIRST PARAGRAPH TO READ
"REPORTEDLY UNTIL NOVEMBER OF THIS YEAR".
ALSO BELEIVE AMNESTY USUALLY MAY 1 NOT TITO'S
BIRTHDAY--SO SHOULD READ "A TRADITION IN MAY".
REPLACE THIRD AND FOURTH SENTENCES NEXT PARAGRAPH
BEGINNING "WE SHOULD STRIVE ..." TO READ "WE SHOULD
ENCOURAGE OUR ALLIES LIKE WEST GERMANS TO CONTINUE
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THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS TO KEEP YUGOSLAVS TO
THEIR COMMITMENT TO GO AHEAD WITH THE AMNESTY AND
INCLUDE PEOPLE LIKE MIHAJLO MIHAJLOV AND JUDGE FRANC
MIKLAVCIC, WHOSE QUESTIONABLE TREATMENT HAS AROUSED
WIDESPREAD CONCERN. THIS OBJECTIVE WILL VE ACHIEVED IF THE
USG DOES NOT PROVIDE THE GOY WITH A PRETEXT TO
POSTPONDJIT BY CLAIMING SUPER-POWER PRESSURE. WE

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SHOULD BE QUIET ON THIS ONE, QUSING OUR AMMUNITION
FOR MATTERS NOT NOW ON TRACK."

--AMEND B.B. LAST PHRASE FIRST SENTENCE TO READ
"BY PLAYING UPON ITS NEED FOR CONTINUED GOOD WILL AND
IDEOLOGICAL ACCEPTABILITY IN THE WEST."

--IN PARAGRAPH 3 CHANGE SECOND SENTENCE BEGINNING
"OUR LONGSTANDING..." TO READ "OUR EFFORTS TO
FURTHER DEVELOP OUR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY
AND NOW IDEOLOGICAL RELATIONS ARE DESIGNED TO HELP
YUGOSLAVIA WEATHER THE SUCCESSION". PHRASE "POLICY
OF SUPPORT" SEEMS TOO SWEEPING.

-- REPLACE PARAGRAPH 4 "WE MUST SEEK ..." WIOH FOLLOWING:
"WE MUST BE AWARE OF THE NUMEROUS MEANS OF INFLUENCING
YUGOSLAVIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE AD CHOOSE
JUDICIOUSLY AMONG THEM TO REDRESS SPECIFIC SITUATIONS.
FOR EXAMPLE AS HOST TO CSCE, BELGRADE WILL BE AWASH
THIS YEAR WITH HUNDREDS OF WESTERN NEWSMEN HIGHLY
ATTUNED TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AND WITH MUCH TIME
ON THEIR HANDS. IT IS INEVITABLE, AS WELL AS DESIRABLE
THAT THEY WILL FOCUS ON YUGOSLAV HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.
WE BELEIVE THAT IN THIS ATMOSPHERE PUBLIC STATEMENTS
BY THE USG ON THE YUGOSLAV ISTUATION WILL SIMPLY
OVER-LOAD THE CIRCUIT AND PROVE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.
AT OTHER TIMES, HOWEVER, WE MAY FIND PUBLIC STATEMENTS
USEFUL. WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S
EXISTENCE DEPENDS INP PART ON ITS ABILITY TO DETER
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"SUPERPOWER PRESSURE". THEN PII 70 43ST OF
PARAGRAPH 4 BEGINNING "YUGOSLAVIA'S ATTITUDE MAY
APPEAR..."

6. FINALLY, TWO GENERAL POINTS.

--FIRST, WE BELIEVE POWER OF IDEAS, VALUES, HUMAN
RIGHTS IS SUFFICIENT WITHOUT LINKAGE TO BRING ABOUT
SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN YUGOSLAVIA. FACT TITO FELT
COMPELLED DEFEND YUGOSLAV RECORD PUBLICLY WHEN VICE
PRESIDENT MONDALE HAD NOT EVEN RAISED ISSUE, AND THAT
WHOLE POLITICAL PROCESS HERE NOW ON DEFENSEIVE IS JUST
ONE EXAMPLE OF HOW POWERFUL A GENUINELY PROGRESSSIVE
IDEOLOGY IS TO THE RATHER TRADTIONAL OLIGARCHY WHICH
RUNS THIS SOCIETY. ACTUALLY LINKAGE (TO WORLD BANK
LOANS FOR EXAMPLE) WOULD ONLY UNDERCUT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS
OBJECTIVA BY FORCING LIBERALS AS WELL AS DOGMATISTS
TO RALLY AROUND FLAG OF NATIONALISM.

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-- SECOND, WE ARE HEARTENED BY THE SPLENDID BEGINNING
MADE IN WASHINGTON IN THIS FIELD. BUT IF WE CAN BE
FORGIVEN THE PRESUMPTION, WE BELIEVE THE USG STILL
LACKS A COHERENT, ENUNCIATED IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK
GOING BEYOND JUST HUMAN RIGHTS TO MAKE THE AMERICAN
DOMESTIC EXPERIEN E RELEVANT TO WHAT IS NOW GOING ON
IN MUCH OF THE REST OF THE WORLD, AS FRAMEWORK WHICH SETS OUT
A GRADUAL GLOBAL E ALUATION TOWARD SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.
CONCRETELY WE SUGGEST THAT SP AND THE NSC CONSIDER
BRINGING ON BOARD SOMEONE TASKED EXCLUSIVELY WITH
DEFINING AN IDEOLOGY WHICH BRIDGES THE ARTIFICIAL
SOCIALIST-CAPITALIST GAP, GOES FURTHER IN DEFINING
ECONOMIC AS WELL AS POLITICAL RIGHTS.
WE NEED A MSION OF THE GLOBE'S FUTURE, A SET OF GOALS
FOR ALL NATIONS' DOMESTIC POLITICS, SOMETHING FAIRLY
TANGIBLE TO MATCH THE MARXIST VISION NOW ALMOST
ALONE ON THE STAGE.
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